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TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dual Political Divisions

Two great political divisions were anciently recognized on Hiva Oa, the western portion of the island being called Nuku, the eastern, Pepane. In Nuku were included also the islands of Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva. Nuku, the elder brother, and Pepane, the younger, are believed by the natives to have been the first inhabitants of their respective regions of Hiva Oa. On Nuku Hiva there was likewise a dual division. Tei'i, traditionally the elder brother, was the ancestor of the western division, while Taipi-nui-a'aku was the ancestor of the people of the eastern division (See 4).

This dual division of the two main islands may be due to the growth and expansion of two branches of an original stock in two centers or to two settlements, one subsequent to the other, by different stocks of people. The possibility also suggests itself to one's mind that the dual political divisions may have been a relic of a social system in which there was dual division into moieties. It is significant that there was a corresponding dual political division on Eastern Island, on Rarotonga, on Niue, and on Hawaii, and probably elsewhere. The original cause and meaning of these dual systems in Polynesia are yet to be determined.

It is evident that, in some of the large valleys of the Marquesas, the population was made up of one large tribe with subdivisions. This was the case in Atu Ona (Vevau) on Hiva Oa, and this is the political situation most commonly found in the large valleys. But in other places an intrusive tribe had pushed in by the sea somewhere or probably more often from the mountains. An example of such intrusion is found in the valley of Huna Menu on Hiva Oa, where it is known that the people of the upper and lower sections of the valley were enemies, and further, that those of the upper section were the friends of the tribes in the upper part of Vevau, which is in close touch with upper Hana Menu by an overland route, while the people of the lower Hana Menu were the enemies of the people of Vevau. The people of Vevau could go into upper Hana Menu with all the assurance of safety that they would feel in their own valley, but to venture into lower Hana Menu meant death. Permanent settlement of one island from another, probably under the urge of war but perhaps for peaceful colonization, is undoubtedly illustrated in Fatu Hiva in five small bays on the southeast coast, which were inhabited by people whose tribal name was Tiu, the name of the great tribe in the valley of Ta'a Oa on Hiva Oa.

Perhaps the best way in which to discuss tribal relationships is to describe what was learned from modern informants in each island. They, unfortunately, remember but little about the principal tribes of the larger

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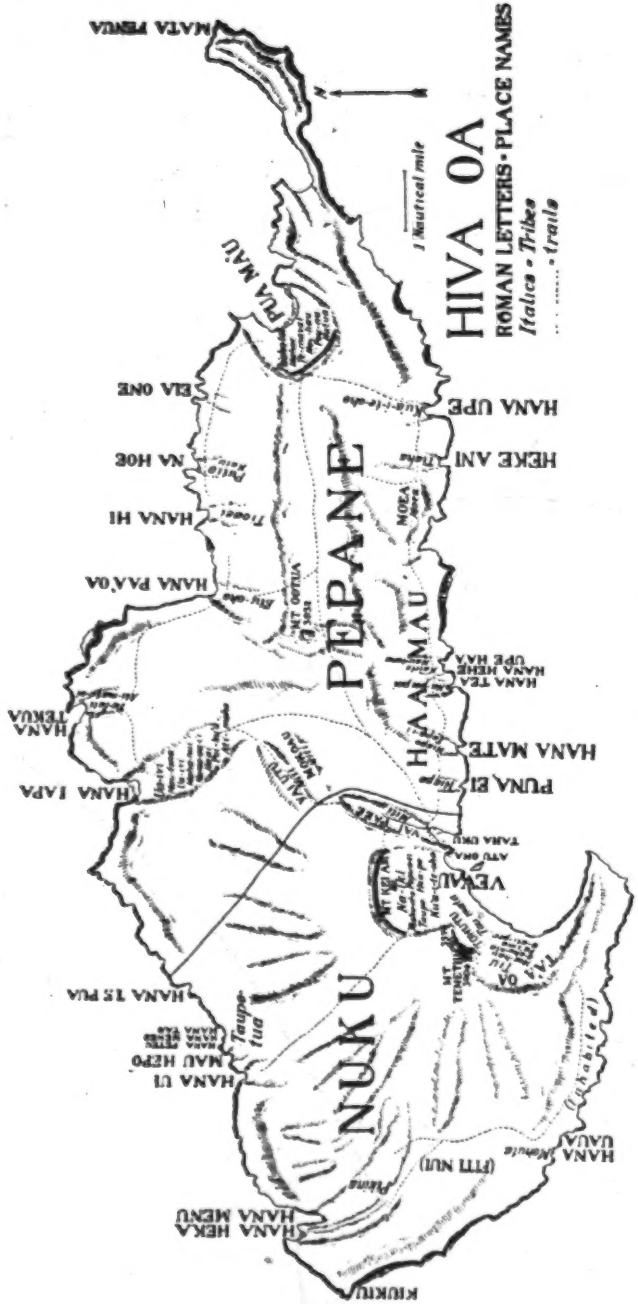

FIGURE 2.—Map of Hiva 'Oa.

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valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes of the group.

Hiva Oa (La Dominica)

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All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known inclusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hehe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

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through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never overthrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control

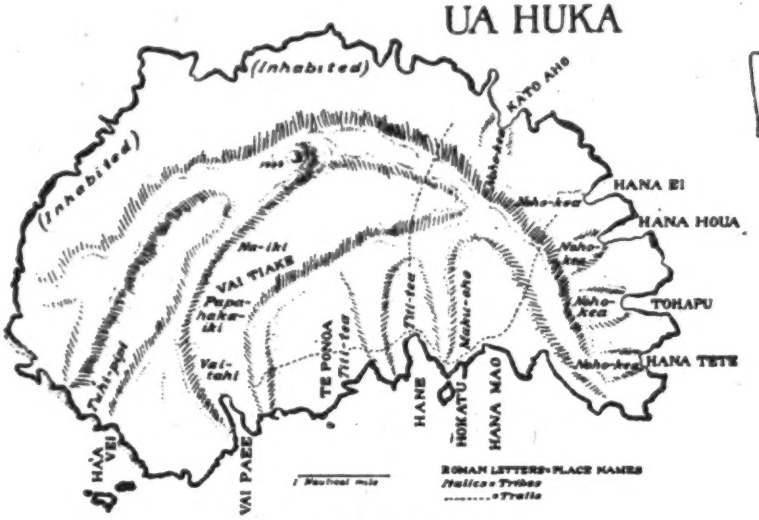

FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'amotua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

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THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage.

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes.

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224):

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary